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REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON THE UNITED NATIONS ANGOLA VERIFICATION MISSION (UNAVEM II)

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The present report is submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 932 (1994) of 30 June 1994, in which the Council requested me to keep it informed regularly on the progress of the Lusaka peace talks as well as on the military and humanitarian situation in Angola and, to that end, to submit a report to it by 31 July 1994. Since then, the members of the Council, in their informal consultations, have been regularly informed of developments with respect to the situation in Angola.

II. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

2. In its resolution 932 (1994), the Security Council also called upon the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) to honour the commitments that they had made at the Lusaka peace talks and urged them to redouble their efforts with the aim of urgently completing work on the remaining points on the agenda, attaining an effective and sustainable cease-fire and concluding a peaceful settlement without procrastination. The Council welcomed the formal acceptance by the Government of the proposals on national reconciliation and strongly urged UNITA to do likewise. In this connection, the Council declared its readiness to impose additional measures against UNITA, as indicated in paragraph 26 of resolution 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993, if by 31 July 1994 UNITA had not formally accepted the complete set of proposals on national reconciliation.

3. In the same resolution, the Security Council further requested the Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993) to report to it by 15 July 1994 on compliance with the sanctions regime against UNITA and in particular on possible violations of that regime by two States neighbouring Angola. In its report dated 15 July 1994 (S/1994/825), the Committee stated that it had not yet received a substantive reply from the Government of the Congo. With regard to Zaire, the Committee stated that it had exhausted all the available procedures under its guidelines to obtain the required information from that country's Government and recommended that the Council be urgently seized of that matter.

4. Since my last report to the Security Council dated 20 and 29 June 1994 (S/1994/740 and Add.1), various efforts have been made to urge the Government and UNITA to show realism and the necessary political will to conclude a comprehensive agreement which would bring about a just and lasting peace to the Angolan conflict, within the framework of the "Acordos de Paz" and of the relevant Security Council resolutions.

5. A key issue that remains unresolved in the Lusaka peace talks is the question of national reconciliation. It will be recalled that consideration of this agenda item began on 31 January 1994 and that by 17 February agreement had been reached on the general principles pertaining to it. The discussions then focused on the specific principles and on 27 June the last of the original 18 specific principles was agreed upon, namely, the provision of appropriate facilities to UNITA, including adequate residences for its senior leaders.

6. Among the modalities for the implementation of the principles pertaining to national reconciliation, UNITA's participation in the management of State affairs has proved to be the most contentious since it concerns the allocation of senior government posts, including the governorships of provinces. This matter has been under discussion at Lusaka since February 1994. After intensive consultations, the United Nations and the three observer States (Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States of America) put forward a package of proposals which were accepted by the Government on 28 May 1994.

7. On 8 June 1994, UNITA gave a generally positive response to the proposals by accepting all those which related to the number and the identity of the posts to be held by its senior members, including those in diplomatic missions. However, UNITA requested the additional position of Governor of Huambo and also expressed preference for the post of Deputy Governor of Malange, rather than that of Huambo.

8. My Special Representative, supported by the representatives of the observer States, has on a number of occasions stressed to the UNITA delegation that the proposals constitute an indivisible package and that any attempt to alter them could place months of negotiations in jeopardy. He has therefore urged UNITA to accept the proposals in their entirety, as the Government has done.

9. In this connection, my Special Representative, accompanied by the representatives of the three observer States, travelled to Huambo on 18 June 1994 for talks with the President of UNITA, Mr. Jonas Savimbi. On 23 June, they travelled to Cape Town for a meeting with President Nelson Mandela of South Africa. My Special Representative has also held meetings with several African leaders, including President José Eduardo dos Santos of Angola (Luanda, 19 June and 13 July), President Frederick Chiluba of Zambia (Lusaka, 28 June), President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Angola (Harare, 1 July) and President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire (Gbadolite, 12 July).

10. The African leaders have sought actively to assist the Angolan peace process within the framework of the Lusaka talks. Their major objective has been to resolve the questions of UNITA's participation in the management of State affairs, including the future status of the President and other senior

officials of UNITA. On 7 July 1994, President Mandela hosted a summit meeting in Pretoria attended by the Presidents of Angola, Mozambique and Zaire during which it was decided to revive a long dormant Security and Defence Commission between Angola and Zaire. At that meeting it was confirmed that Mr. Savimbi had accepted an invitation from President Mandela to visit South Africa. On 5 July, President Chiluba paid a visit to Luanda for talks with President dos Santos. The following day, a high-level delegation from the ruling party in Zambia travelled to Huambo, where it met with Mr. Savimbi.

11. The Government and UNITA delegations are at present examining a compromise text proposed by the United Nations on the other modalities pertaining to national reconciliation, based on written submissions of the two delegations. If these very difficult issues related to national reconciliation can be resolved, the last item on the agenda, namely, the future mandate of the United Nations in Angola and the role of the observer States, is not expected to present major difficulties or to take much time since a measure of agreement has already been reached on the matter. It will be essentially a matter of recapitulating the various roles which the Government and UNITA have already agreed to request the United Nations to undertake and of reconciling the contents of the Lusaka Protocol with standard practices followed by the Organization in establishing peace-keeping operations.

III. MILITARY SITUATION

12. As indicated in my last report to the Security Council (S/1994/740), the military situation deteriorated rapidly in June 1994, after a brief lull in the fighting in April and May. Hostilities between the two sides intensified significantly, especially in Huambo, Kuito and Malange, resulting in a country-wide suspension of humanitarian aid on 13 June. Some international relief workers deployed in these areas were evacuated to Luanda. The security status of Huambo and Kuito was upgraded to Phase V and that of Malange remained at Phase IV.

13. Recent military activities suggest that the Government is concentrating its efforts on establishing a dominant position in the northern regions, while UNITA is trying to consolidate its positions in the south-western and central regions. The forces of both sides are consequently engaged in stalemated battles in a number of localities in those regions.

Northern provinces

14. On 11 July, after intensive fighting with the Forças Armadas Angolanas (FAA), UNITA took control of the small town of Belize in Cabinda. While renewed fighting in Kwanza Norte, especially around the provincial capital of N'Dalatando and in Lucala, was reported from mid-June onwards, the present situation in these areas is calm. In Luanda, it has been reported that the government forces are engaged in the compulsory recruitment of young men.

15. As indicated in paragraph 13 of my report of 20 June, since early June, FAA has carried out a number of air raids in Lunda Norte province, including Cafunfo and Luremo. On 20 June, FAA also bombed the towns of Camulemba, Cuilo, Lovua

and Libalo. The extent of damage in these areas is not known. UNITA has claimed that on 10 June, FAA troops occupied Luma-Cassi and were making advances towards Cacolo in Lunda Sul province.

Central provinces

16. During the first half of June, fighting was reported in Kwanza Sul province, in the areas around Ebo, which is at present under the Government's control. Fighting was also reported in Waku-Kungo and in the outskirts of Quibala where, since early June, FAA has reportedly bombed UNITA positions. UNITA has claimed that more than 150 civilians were killed and 250 wounded in the bombings. Indications were received that casualties from Government aerial bombings in the province were increasing owing to lack of medical care in UNITA-controlled areas.

17. On 4 June 1994, a major attack by UNITA on the provincial capital of Malange was repelled by FAA. Fighting was reported to have intensified in the area again on 15 June. The present situation in Malange is tense and continued sporadic fighting on the outskirts of the city is forcing civilians to take refuge in it. The Government has alleged that mercenaries from Zaire are fighting jointly with UNITA troops in this area. It is reported that FAA has bombed a number of villages in the vicinity of Malange, causing casualties among the civilian population.

18. On 14 July, a World Food Programme (WFP) plane was hit and one of its right engines damaged by an unidentified projectile, as it was approaching Malange, despite having received prior clearance by both the Government and UNITA. The aircraft was nevertheless able to land, off-load its supplies and return safely to Luanda.

19. Heavy fighting continued throughout June in the province of Bié. It was reported that Kuito came under the control of the Government on 28 June and FAA claimed to have established a defensive perimeter of 10 kilometres in diameter around the city. It is also reported, however, that UNITA continues to shell the city with long-range artillery. Government news reports claim that more than 500 civilians have been killed and 800 wounded since hostilities resumed in Kuito in late May.

20. As noted in paragraph 13 of my report of 20 June, FAA bombed Huambo from 3 to 10 June. Since then, the situation has calmed down, with the exception of FAA air raids on 2 and 15 July. UNITA has claimed that 87 civilians have been killed and 200 wounded as a result of these bombings.

21. The Government media have claimed that UNITA is building up its forces around Luena in Moxico province, with the apparent intention of launching an attack against this provincial capital. Meanwhile, the Government has also claimed that its forces captured Camanongue, 50 kilometres north of Luena, on 12 June 1994.

Southern provinces

22. The military activity in Huíla province was also reported to be deteriorating, with UNITA concentrating its forces in some areas and, simultaneously, operating in a number of areas that were earlier considered to be safe.

IV. HUMANITARIAN SITUATION

23. In my previous report to the Security Council (S/1994/740 and Add.1), I described in detail the effects of the escalation of armed hostilities in May and June 1994 and the resulting curtailment of relief deliveries to populations that depend on external assistance for their survival. By the end of June, the situation was critical, as UNITA continued to withhold authorization for United Nations relief flights and the besieged cities of Malange, Kuito and Huambo had not received any United Nations cargo flights for more than a month.

24. On 29 June, a CARITAS plane was able to land in Malange and withdrew 11 humanitarian workers. The situation in the city remains critical despite the recent arrival of government and CARITAS flights which managed to deliver some food to the civilian population, but not on a regular basis nor with sufficient tonnage to cover the pressing needs of the population.

25. From 30 June onwards, the situation showed some improvement, starting with the resumption of WFP flights to certain locations considered to be safe, namely, Saurimo, Luena, Menongue and Dundo, even before obtaining clearance from UNITA. The United Nations flight plan for the week of 4 July was approved with the exception of five destinations excluded by UNITA (Balombo, Cubal, Kuito, Malange and Tchindjendje) and one excluded by the Government (Huambo). On 10 July, an International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) plane landed in Kuito, the first plane to land there since 26 May, and evacuated the remaining two ICRC delegates. However, as the plane was landing, the airport was shelled with mortars which struck the tarmac close to the aircraft. The security situation had been calm prior and subsequent to the evacuation flight and safety assurances had been given by both sides.

26. During the second week of July, all locations except Kuito were authorized in principle, but clearances had to be reconfirmed on a daily basis. Flights were resumed to Huambo and Malange, among other locations; however, as noted above, the WFP flight of 14 July to Malange was struck by an unidentified projectile, causing a further suspension of flights to that city. Also on 14 July, an ICRC plane was hit by a bullet not far out of Lobito en route to Ganda. The plane was not badly damaged. However, because of this incident and the insecure environment, ICRC suspended its flights to Ganda and Huambo. These flights continue to be grounded.

27. For the week of 18 July all destinations have been cleared except Huambo, for which the Government did not provide clearance, and Kuito, for which UNITA withheld clearance on security grounds. Efforts will be made to reach as many locations as possible within the constraints imposed by the security situation.

28. The situation remains precarious. Particular concern centres on the city of Kuito, where displaced persons from the surrounding areas continue to congregate in spite of the acute shortage of food. There are no expatriate relief workers in the area, no food stocks and no medical supplies to treat the hundreds of war wounded.

29. Despite the suspension and reduced level of humanitarian assistance in the country, WFP, UNICEF and non-governmental organizations are continuing to provide emergency assistance to war-affected, drought-affected and displaced persons in the southern provinces of Huila, Cunene and Namibe, in parts of Kwanza Sul and in the provinces of Bengo, Benguela, Cabinda and Luanda. The assistance of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to returnees and refugees together with implementing NGOs in the northern provinces of Zaire and Uige is also continuing on a much reduced scale, mostly through local staff.

30. Relief organizations are urgently appealing to the international community to focus attention on the grave situation in Angola, to exert pressure for an end to offensive military operations and to ensure that humanitarian assistance can safely reach all those in need.

V. FINANCIAL ASPECTS

31. The cash flow situation of the special account for UNAVEM II is precarious. As of 15 July 1994, outstanding assessed contributions to it for the period from its inception through 30 September 1994 amounted to US$ 26.4 million. As a result, in order to provide UNAVEM II with the necessary cash flow requirements, loans totalling $21 million have been borrowed for more than eight months from other accounts. These amounts have not been repaid.

32. None the less, in the event that the Security Council decides to authorize an increase in the current strength of UNAVEM II, I shall request the General Assembly at its current session to make adequate financial provisions for the expansion of the Mission.

33. The total of outstanding assessed contributions for all peace-keeping operations on 15 July 1994 was $2,032 million.

VI. OBSERVATIONS

34. Since my last report, only limited progress has been made at the Lusaka peace talks. Agreements have been reached on all the specific principles pertaining to national reconciliation. But the modalities for the implementation of those principles, particularly the question of UNITA's participation in the management of the affairs of state, have not been agreed despite intensive diplomatic efforts to help the Angolan parties to reach agreement.

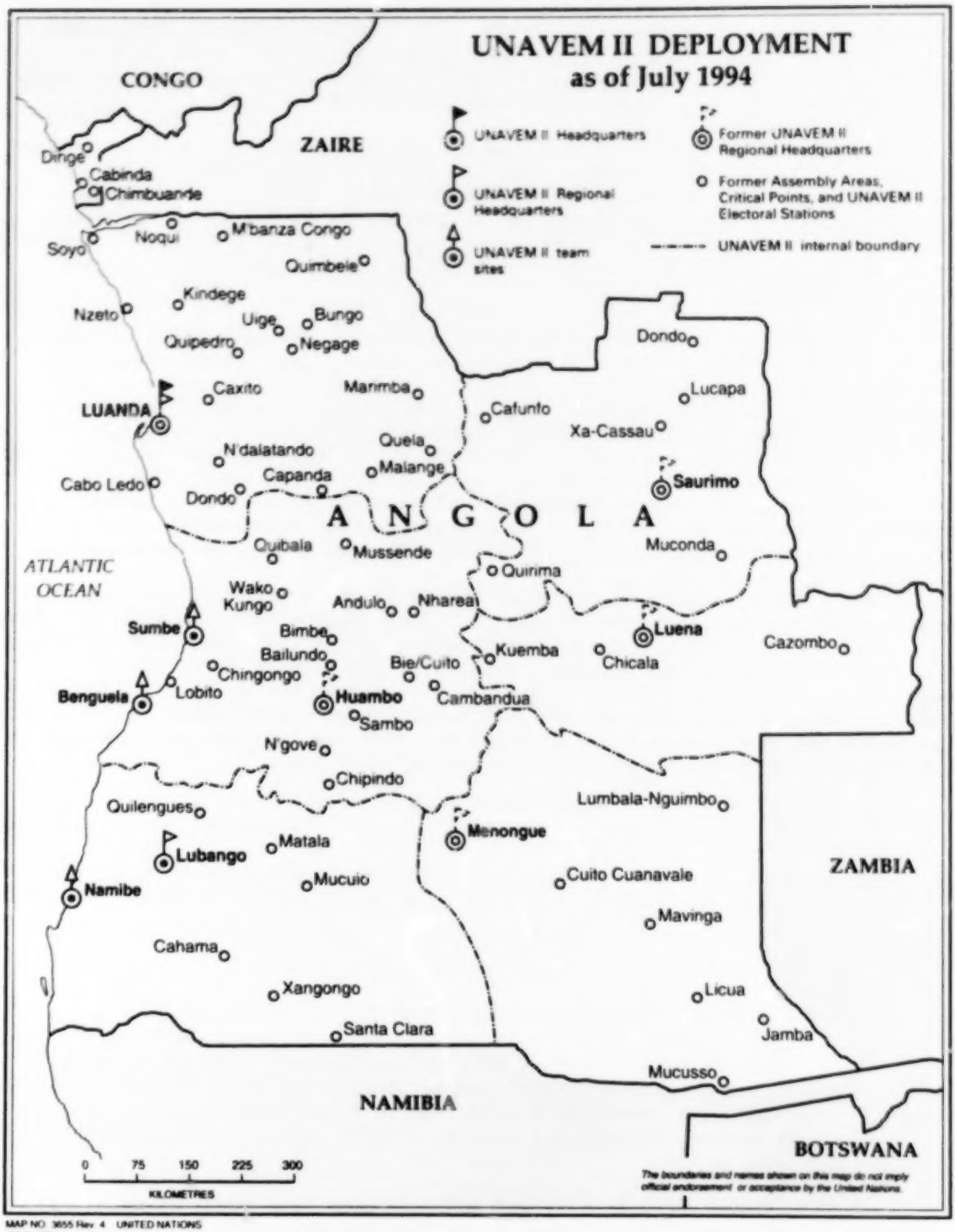
35. It is to be hoped that recent diplomatic initiatives, including that of President Mandela, will have improved the prospects for the resolution of the

pending issues and that the expected visit of Mr. Savimbi to Pretoria will produce results. It is also to be hoped that President Mobutu's involvement will lead to an improvement of relations between Angola and Zaire, and it indicates a willingness on the part of Zaire to address the concerns expressed by the Security Council in paragraph 8 of resolution 932 (1994).

36. Military operations continue to have a serious effect on the humanitarian situation in Angola. I recommend that the Security Council again press the Government and UNITA to cease hostilities forthwith, to grant the necessary security clearances and guarantees for deliveries of humanitarian assistance to all locations, and to refrain from any action which could jeopardize the safety of relief personnel or disrupt the distribution of humanitarian aid to the Angolan people.

37. Although it is difficult to be optimistic about the prospects for the Lusaka peace talks, I hope that the Security Council will remain ready, as stated in its recent resolutions, to authorize promptly an increase in the strength of UNAVEM II, if agreement is reached on the outstanding issues. The initial requirement would be to bring UNAVEM II rapidly to its previous level of 350 military observers, 126 police observers and 14 military medical staff, with an appropriate number of international and local civilian staff. If the Government and UNITA reach a comprehensive agreement in Lusaka, I intend to dispatch an advance team to Angola to prepare further recommendations for the Council. As usual, I will keep the Council informed of any new developments.

38. I wish to express my appreciation to President Mandela and the Heads of State of the subregion for their important contribution to the search for peace in Angola. I also thank again the representatives of the three observer States for their cooperation and support. Finally, I pay tribute to my Special Representative, to the Chief Military Observer and to the staff of UNAVEM II for the dedication with which they continue to discharge their duties, as well as to the personnel of United Nations agencies and NGOs who continue to persevere in the delivery of humanitarian aid in dangerous conditions.



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LETTER DATED 25 JULY 1994 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF CROATIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

In accordance with instructions from my Government, please be advised of a serious act of aggression against the Republic of Croatia from the territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of the Bosnian Serb army; the Bosnian Serb army shelled the region of Dubrovnik yesterday. Fifty-two detonations were reported: 5 in the area of Slano, west of Dubrovnik; 5 in Orasac; 4 in Zaton; 8 in Brgat; 12 in Kupare and Zupa; 10 in Zvekovici; and 8 in Gruda. The shelling originated from the Trebinje region in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The attacks on Dubrovnik, a United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization "world heritage" city, have always been carried out from the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of the Bosnian Serb army.

The shelling of Dubrovnik from the territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina underscores the view of my Government that the solution-seeking process in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia cannot be separated, but must be pursued in parallel, through the diplomatic means of the Contact Group but also through other appropriate measures by the responsible parties in the region.

My Government respectfully requests that the members of the Security Council address this latest development with utmost concern. This development is a serious threat to the security of the Republic of Croatia and it seriously undermines the stability and prospects for peace in the region. Such acts of aggression by the Belgrade proxies in Bosnia can seriously increase the social pressures created by close to half a million dispirited displaced persons and refugees in Croatia.

May I request your assistance in distributing this letter as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Mario NOBILO
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

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